



British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

Bulletin No. 19

January 1977

'RELEASE'... 'TRANSMIGRATION'

The true nature of the Indonesian Government's "release" plans have become clear with the announcement made on 1st December by KOPKAMTIB Chief-of-Staff, Admiral Sudomo. The "release" and "restoration to society" of B category tapols is in fact nothing but a step towards their transfer to labour camps. The absurd pretext for this is "the lack of job opportunities".

As Mr Yap explains in an interview with the Dutch newspaper *Trouw* (see p. 4), the main specific obstacle to the chances of employment for released tapols is the requirement to possess political clearance certificates. This is a regulation of the KOPKAMTIB's making which still remains in force.

In actual fact, the military are continuing with their long-standing policy of transferring B category tapols to Buru and to other labour camps. The only difference is that they have now thought up the idea of gaining a propaganda advantage by inserting an extra process between the tapols' removal from prison and their transfer to labour camps. Until now, this has been done amid such secrecy that even families were not informed before hand and only knew of the transfer after discovering that they were no longer at the prison.

The much publicised way in which the "release" ceremony was performed in Jakarta, in the presence of a number of western ambassadors, shows that the Indonesian military are seeking to convince their closest supporters that they need no longer heed public pressure at home from the growing number of people who are concerned about human rights abuses in Indonesia.

Certainly, the military authorities have been compelled to acknowledge the strength of feeling in many countries, and they have shown that their deepening dependence on economic aid from western countries has made them more anxious to improve their image.

TAPOL regards these developments as being proof on the one hand of the effectiveness of its activities, while on the other hand, recognising the need to intensify TAPOL activities in order to expose the real nature of the "solution" that has been worked out. Governments to whom we address our concerns will now be more likely to argue that things have greatly improved. In such circumstances, it will be all the more necessary to get our message out to as many people and organisations as possible in the conviction that more and not less pressure is needed.

TRANSMIGRATION AND FOREIGN AID

Transmigration — the catch-phrase now being used to conceal the forcible transfer of tens of thousands of tapols to forced labour camps — has for long been one of the policy options employed by Indonesian governments to reduce the population pressure in Java. It is the term used for the resettlement of families, mostly from Central and East Java to the much less populated regions of South Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi.

It has become clear within the past year or so that a number of western governments and multilateral agencies have agreed to supply funds to help finance transmigration projects. In July 1976, it was announced in Jakarta that the World Bank had agreed to provide \$30 million for new transmigration projects in South Sumatra and for a long-standing project in Lampung, Sumatra. This is the first time the World Bank has advanced credit for this kind of project. It was also announced this year that the British Government would be providing £750,000 for transmigration projects in Sumatra.

It now remains to be seen whether western governments who appear to have given their stamp of approval to KOPKAMTIB's current policy of "transmigrating" the tapols will take this approval further by actually funding camps for them. The Indonesian Government can be expected to make a strong case to western governments for such funding, for the sake of providing "job opportunities". If the western governments become involved in this way, it would represent a treacherous step towards directly supporting the apparatus being used to keep tens of thousands of politically-undesirable people under continuing military surveillance.

'Tapol' is an Indonesian contraction for 'tahanan politik' meaning political prisoner. It is still widely used although it was banned in 1974 because the military authorities said that all the prisoners are 'criminals'.

2,500 Released.... To go to Camps

On 1st December, KOPKAMTIB, the Army's special security command, announced the release of 2,500 tapols.* At the same time, it publicly confirmed that released tapols would be required to go to "transmigration centres". For those "released" in Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi and other places, special "transmigration centres" will be set up in these islands. Those "released" in Java would be "transmigrated" to Buru or other places.

The announcement was made by Admiral Sudomo, KOPKAMTIB chief-of-staff, at a public ceremony in Jakarta at which several hundred tapols were formally released. The ceremony was attended by senior diplomats from several western embassies, including the US Ambassador, David Newsom, the British Chargé d'Affaires and top representatives of the West German, Dutch and Japanese embassies. The Ambassadors of the four other ASEAN countries, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand (Indonesia is the fifth) were also present.

Admiral Sudomo also announced that a further 10,000 tapols would be "released" in 1977, followed by another 10,000 in 1978, and "the rest" in 1979.

The reason given for "transmigrating" the "released" tapols was that "there must be sufficient employment opportunities for them, since unemployment would create fertile ground for all kinds of acts contrary to law, and this in itself would pose a threat to the national security, particularly to law and order".

Explaining why it was necessary to carry out this plan in phases, Sudomo stated that "resettlement and transmigration require a large budget and this could not be met in one fiscal year, hence the release by phases in 1977, 1978 and 1979".

Sudomo's press release also dealt at length with the need for ideological conformity by the "released" tapols. It said: "Those released and returned to the society will have to show concrete deeds as law abiding citizens. Their freedom as citizens is guaranteed as long as they think and act as good citizens of Indonesia based on Pancha Sila. After they are released and returned to society, they still have to assure the Government through concrete deeds that they consciously have discarded their communist ideology and that they are faithful to the Pancha Sila ideology, and as good Indonesian citizens they shall refrain from acts that are contrary to the Constitution and the Law. This adjustment is a social process itself which requires some time and which also requires supervision by the society in general as well as by the law enforcement agencies."

According to various reports, press representatives at the ceremony sought more specific information about the degree of compulsion to be used in the "transmigration" plans for "released" tapols. In his replies, Sudomo implied that if some ex-tapols were able to find their own employment, they would not be forced to go to "transmigration centres". He also said that people would not be forced to do things for which they were not qualified. Specifically, he said of Pramudya Ananta Toer the writer, Rivai Apin the poet and Suprpto the lawyer (who have been in Buru since 1969, working all the time on the camp's agricultural project), that "we shall certainly take care not to force them to become farmers".

More Transfers to Buru

Meanwhile, independent reports from Indonesia state that a further transfer of tapols is planned to take place in December or January. In Central Java, 400 are to be transferred, including a number of tapols from the Wirogunan Prison in Jogjakarta.

It is also known that a number of women tapols who have been at the Plantungan labour camp since 1971 have been moved to the Bulu Prison for women in Semarang. This is believed to be in preparation for their transfer to another camp for "hard-core" women in Bantir, Ambarawa (Central Java). The removal of these women from Plantungan occurred just a few days prior to a televised visit to the camp by the Belgian Ambassador. The reason may have been to ensure the absence of the more articulate women at the camp.

*The official press release states that they were released "on 1st December" and that this was the "second group" of B category prisoners released, "the first being on 1st December 1975". It seems to contradict the official announcement made in Jakarta on the occasion of the 17th August celebrations this year that 1,166 B category prisoners had been released.

TEMPO: FOCUS ON PRESUMPTION OF INNOCENCE

There's a saying popular with our judges: it's better to free a guilty man than to punish an innocent one.

These are the words of Lieut-General Widodo* in a lecture entitled *Upholding National Consciousness and Discipline in the Framework of Building a Democratic and Prosperous Society*, which was delivered at Pajajaran University on 3rd July, 1976.

A very impressive statement indeed.

Lieut-General Widodo was speaking of the efforts to combat corruption. "We need as much information as possible and this is indeed proper. But people whom we suspect also have the right to be presumed innocent until we can prove them guilty. In law, this is called *the presumption of innocence*."

The question is: why is it so important to raise this principle yet again? Why is this principle now like a formula that is forgotten by many people and remembered only by a small number of 'specialists'? And why does it so frequently happen — that people are not freed simply in order to prove that they are guilty, or even, that people are not freed just because there is insufficient evidence to prove that they are guilty.

Of course, these concern different cases which have nothing to do with corruption. They are cases concerning people considered, for instance, as being 'dangerous' for certain reasons. It could be because we don't consider corruption as being something very pressing, not so pressing for example as the danger of subversion. It could be too because the principle of the presumption of innocence needs to be more than something learned by rote

(*Tempo*, 9th October, 1976)

* Lieut-General Widodo is commander of the All-Java and Madura Territorial Command.

US Visa Denied

by Jacqui Chagnon, TAPOL-US and Clergy and Laity Concerned

The hall of the Downtown United Presbyterian Church in Rochester, New York remained empty on November 11. Many people in Rochester had hoped to hear Carmel Budiardjo talk about the plight of an estimated 100,000 tapols, but couldn't. Likewise, the citizens of Newton, Kansas, could not hear Ms. Budiardjo's analysis of how almost \$300 million in U.S. military aid to the Indonesian government has helped maintain a repressive system since 1965. In early December, Hawaiians also were prevented from hearing her gripping personal witness of torture and inhumane conditions as a tapol for three years. And 23 other communities throughout the U.S. could not learn from Ms. Budiardjo what Americans could do to free the tapols after eleven years of detention without trials or charges. They all wanted to hear and learn from Carmel Budiardjo, but couldn't because she was denied a visa into the U.S. by the State Department.

How could this happen in a country imbibed since its birth with strong principles of free speech, free assembly, free association. Is it because this greying grandmother is perceived by the American people as a danger to our national security? Or is it because the government has seen fit to "protect" us by denying us the right to hear her? The answers are couched between the restrictive visa laws originating out of the McCarthyite era and the current U.S. policy of calling Indonesia's human rights violations "unfortunate but understandable".

Last June TAPOL-USA and Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) decided to co-sponsor a nationwide speaking tour for Ms. Budiardjo from November to mid-December. The main problem was getting her visa. On a previous speaking tour in December, 1975, Ms. Budiardjo had been asked to testify on human rights in Indonesia before the Fraser Sub-committee on International Organizations. At that hearing, former Rep. Wayne Hays asked her if she is now or has ever been a member of the Communist Party. She answered candidly that she had been, in the late forties in Great Britain. Upon returning to England, where she now resides, Ms. Budiardjo's multi-entry

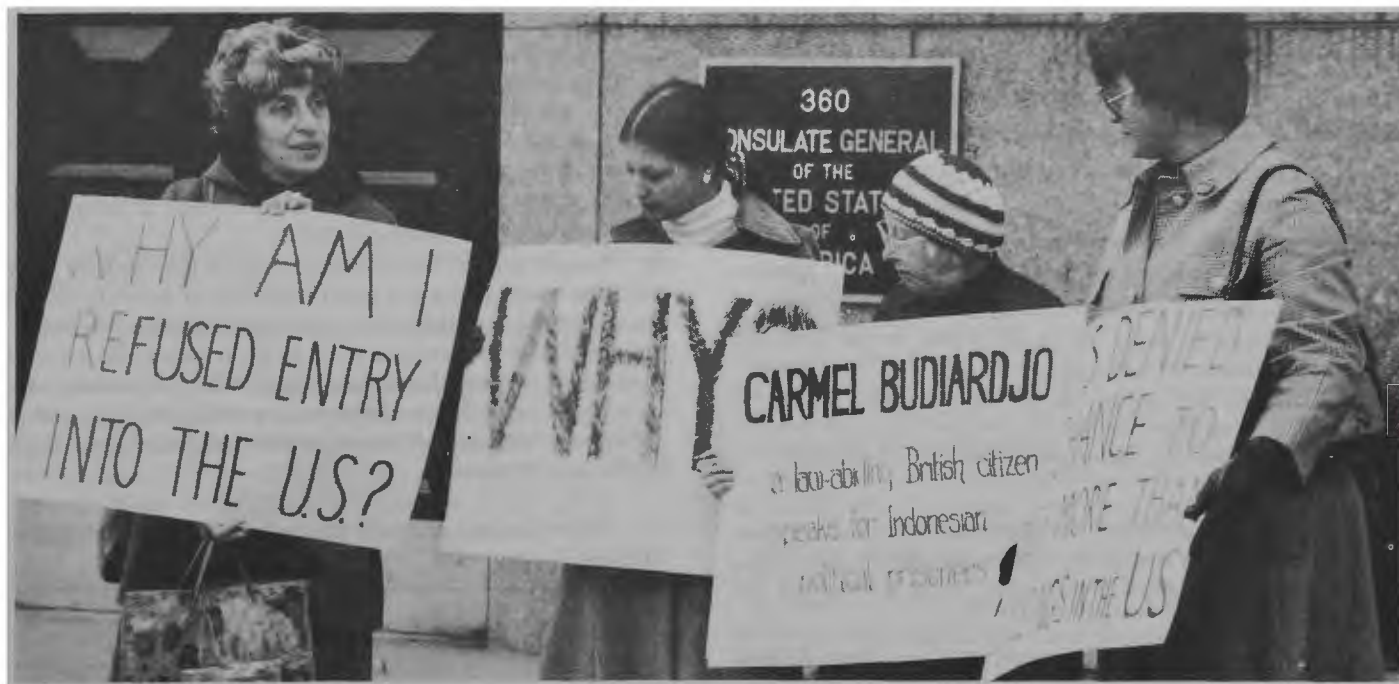
visa to the U.S. was revoked, presumably because of her response to Hays' question which contradicted her original visa application. (Under the 1950's McCarran Act, Communists and former Communists can be refused entry into the U.S.) When Ms. Budiardjo had originally applied for her visa in 1974, she was coming here to visit relatives and felt that the question was unjustified. Many foreigners feel that this law is a violation of their freedom of association.

Under the McCarran Act, however, a waiver can be obtained. In order to allow sufficient time, Ms. Budiardjo began her application process in mid-August. During an interview with a U.S. consular officer in London, Ms. Budiardjo was asked why she thought she should be allowed into the States to promote the cause of communist prisoners when the U.S. was against communism. She replied, "some prisoners were communists, many were not. (We are) interested in the human rights aspects, and . . . clearly many people in the States are interested, including members of Congress . . ." The consular officer then remarked that the visa would take "some time". It was not merely a waiver for someone who had formerly been in the Communist Party, he said, but the purpose of the trip made it a "ticklish" question.

It now appears that the purpose of the speaking tour was also a ticklish question for the Indonesian Embassy in Washington. Embassy personnel visited the State Department several times insisting that she not be allowed into the U.S. On November 10, Robert Miller, Acting Assistant Secretary for the Far East, confirmed this: "Of course the Indonesian government is concerned" about Carmel Budiardjo's tour. When questioned about American opposition to the visa request, he remarked: "No, there has been none to my knowledge. On the contrary," he added, "we have received numerous calls and telegrams in support of Mrs. Budiardjo's visit."

Interestingly, when private inquiries were made about the visa, the State Department repeatedly blamed CALC and TAPOL-USA for scheduling the tour without first securing a visa. Yet, according to the government's waiver procedures, a complete itinerary has to be submitted with the application — a classic Catch-22!

continued on page 8



Yap Thiam Hien:

In Trouw, 17th July 1976 (Slightly abridged)

Q. Amnesty International maintains that there are 100,000 political prisoners. The Indonesian Government gives a much lower figure. What do you think?

A. The Government often announces different figures. I think they don't really know precisely how many prisoners there are. In general the statistics are not reliable. I think that even Sudomo does not know the exact figure. So many changes take place: some are released, others are arrested and all this is not accurately accounted for. As far as the churches are able to ascertain, the figure is more in the region of 43,000. But people are still being arrested so I think the figure of 50,000 is nearer the truth.

Q. On what grounds are people being arrested?

A. Some are suspected for underground activities. Some have protested against the present situation. Recently, some people were arrested for resisting eviction in a district of Jakarta.

Q. Are they political prisoners?

A. That could well be the result of investigations. On the basis of the law against subversion, it is very easy for these people to be held as such. The law is broad enough for that.

Q. Are the prisoners classified into categories?

A. Yes. The main categories are A, B, and C. Then there's category X for those who can't be classified into A, B, or C. But all this is more or less an administrative classification for convenience. Many prisoners do not know their category. I don't think you should stick too closely to this formula.

Q. Have there been any positive developments?

A. Yes, last year, they said they released 1,300. From reliable sources, I know that there were in fact 2,500. I have heard many names from persons I know. Furthermore, the treatment of prisoners has recently improved. There is, as far as I know, less maltreatment. At the most, it now consists of

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slapping and punching. The food is better, and people are given greater freedom of movement within the camps. They also have more frequent visits. After ten years, it can definitely be said that the treatment has improved. And for these signs, we should be pleased. Of course, things are not going as quickly as I would like. The authorities say they must take into account security and order. We can dispute this but they have their reasons for saying so.

Q. Are those who are released completely free?

A. No. Generally, they are under house arrests for the first period, and must report each week. After some time, they are placed under town arrest.

Q. Is it realistic to say (as the government does) that if these

people were released in large numbers, they would become involved in "subversive activities"?

A. Who can predict such things? It depends on the way you look at it. As for me, I consider that all those things happened a long time ago, ten years ago; many people have endured a lot of suffering. I think that people in most villages and kampongs are humane enough to welcome these people back. On the other hand, there are negative factors. Communism is the number one enemy of some religious groups, and these groups take the view that an enemy should not be given any chance to regain strength. It must be eliminated to the roots so that it can't react any more. This is a fact of life here, and you have to reckon with it.

Q. Some say that Christians in Indonesia are very much involved in the political prisoner question. But others think they should be doing more.

A. This was clearly said at our last conference (in March) on the Church and society. It was frankly acknowledged that the Indonesian church does far too little, that we can do much more. The greatest obstacle is fear. We adopted a resolution stating that we must serve our fellow human beings better.

Q. The government makes the acceptance of prisoners back (into society) more difficult by issuing them with papers stating that they have been held for political reasons.

A. That is a real problem. We have often urged the authorities to abolish the G30S certificate. To some extent it has been abolished — for people under 12 years at the time of the coup. We would like it to be abolished altogether. These people face enormous difficulties. There is widespread unemployment. They will probably find themselves at the lowest level of society, or will be taken into custody again. Many must start a new life after all those years and face enormous adjustment problems, within the family too. In many cases, they hardly know their wives and children any more. In the kampongs, people soon find out that a "PKI father" has come home, and are very inquisitive.

Q. Has any organisation of ex-prisoners been set up?

A. These days it is very difficult to set up new organisations. Let me take our own group for example: the citizens of Chinese origin. If we were to make the slightest move in that direction, it would quickly be said that we were trying "to set up a new Baperki".* The climate of mistrust and suspicion is still very prevalent.

Q. In the Netherlands many think that Minister Pronk should stop giving aid to the Suharto Government as long as the political prisoners are still being held.

A. People should not consider this on the basis of only one political issue. There is a great problem of poverty in Indonesia; there are too few schools, agriculture continues to be at a very low level, the universities need help. It would be a pity if all these sectors were deprived of help. The Netherlands should continue to exert pressure over the political prisoners. The influence of the aid-giving countries can be of great importance in this connection.

* Baperki was a left-oriented organisation of the so-called Chinese Indonesians.

Mr Yap is Secretary of Indonesia's Human Rights Institute. He spent 11 months in detention as a political prisoner in 1974.

REVIEWS

Sitor Situmorang:

The well-known Indonesian poet, **Sitor Situmorang**, now 53 years old who spent more than eight years in detention without trial, was released in September 1975. The following is an interview, published in *Tempo* (30th October, 1976).

(slightly abridged)

Tempo: Is there any difference between the treatment of A, B and C category prisoners and that of X category prisoners?

Sitor: No, and anyhow, we didn't know what our classification was. It was only after being released from Salemba Prison that I knew I had been classified as X, although officially in my release papers I was described as 'of no category', that is to say, those detained "as a result of" the G30S affair.

Tempo: Whilst in prison, did you have any contact with the outside world?

Sitor: Some. According to regulations, we were allowed to receive food up to three times a week, and also religious books. With the help of T.B. Simatupang (of the Indonesian Council of Churches), I got religious books, not only about Christianity but also about Islam, Buddhism, Taoism and Zen.

Tempo: Which books attracted you most during your detention?

Sitor: The ones about Buddhism, Taoism and Zen. Not as religions — I remain a Christian — but as cultural expressions. And this interest has continued since my release. It was not something just to do with my detention because I lacked reading matter then. In fact, without my realising it, this tendency existed in poems I wrote before I was detained. And then, after my release, I went to Bali for a week and within that time, forty to fifty poems flowed out from me, expressing a blending of Krishna and Christ.

Tempo: What was the basis of your thinking at the time of the clash between you and the Cultural Manifesto group? *

Sitor: A difference of opinion. But I have always been a liberal, and have striven to keep social intercourse and politics apart. Even though there was this difference of opinion, I remained up to the time of my arrest a friend of some of the older generation of people now connected with the Ismael Marzuki Centre (main cultural centre in Jakarta) such as Ayip Rosidi and Zaini. I would now like to study from the younger generation, particularly Rendra and Sardono. Actually I would like to go and stay with Rendra and watch the methods employed at his Theatre Workshop but I can't leave my family or give up my work as a translator.

Tempo: How did you feel, getting back into society after your release?

Sitor: Things were so quiet in prison. When I got out, I found it difficult to get used to the noise of the traffic, the buses, motor-bikes, the radios next door. Sometimes when I went somewhere by bus, I could not stand the noise and bustle and would have to return home quickly. At home, I felt at first that my neighbours always eyed me with suspicion.

Tempo: What were the effects of your detention on your family?

Sitor: Up to 1973, my six children had a rough time because they were looked upon as 'PKI kids'. We had no tenancy

licence for our home and the family was under pressure about the house. I had never thought of such things in the old days, but now I realise that was a mistake. The house was the property of the Department of Finance but no-one wanted it then. It was being handled by the Supreme Advisory Council of which I was a member representing the PNI (nationalist party). Eventually, my wife and children had to leave the house and moved in with relatives. I have recently heard that the place where we now live will be demolished to make way for the Kuningan Project but fortunately not until the final stage.

While I was in prison, my eldest daughter earned the money for my family's upkeep. She is 30 years old now and not yet married; neither are her younger brothers and sisters. Fortunately, a friend in the USA sent money through Dr. Kadarman for the children's education. When I was under house arrest, Dr. Kadarman found work for me with the Management Institute as a translator. I can do this at home. Since house arrest was changed to town arrest, I have been able to attend weekly meetings to draw up a glossary of management terms. I cover my own needs from what I earn but my eldest daughter still looks after the family's expenses.

I really don't know whether they look upon me as a father who has never been a success at looking after his family, but I am certain my eight years in prison have greatly affected them.

Tempo: Are you now allowed to write novels, essays and other things?

Sitor: Officially, there is no ban. And after I was released, I could not start studying something new at my age. So I want to get back to my former profession as a writer. But so far, all I have written are those poems in Bali. I get good pay from translating but it is not satisfying work. I would really prefer to get only five thousand rupiahs or so for an article as long as I get back to writing. In prison, there was no ban on writing but we were not permitted to have writing implements of any kind, so it's the same thing, isn't it?

"In prison, there was no ban on writing but we were not permitted to have writing implements of any kind, so it's the same thing, isn't it?"

Tempo: How about your former ambition of becoming Minister of Education and Culture?

Sitor: That was not my only ambition. In my younger days, I wanted to take Paris by storm. Now that I am an older man, my ambition should be to storm the heavens, shouldn't it? Some people ask whether I want to make a comeback. All I can say is that I have been cut off from artistic circles for a very long time. All I want to do at the moment is to learn, particularly from the younger generation. Anyhow, my achievements are as nothing by comparison with those of Pramudya. He is an outstanding writer and his continued detention is a great loss to all of us. I said this to Admiral Sudomo when I was called to speak with him a while ago when I was still under town arrest.

* In 1963, the Cultural Manifesto, a document based on universal humanism, was strongly criticised by leftwing artists, including Sitor.

Protest In London

A protest demonstration by students of the London School of Economics led to the abandonment of a seminar held at the School on 19th November, at which a team of top-ranking Indonesian military and government officials were present. The demonstration erupted during the lunch-hour while a peaceful picket, sponsored jointly by TAPOL and the British Campaign for an Independent East Timor, was under way outside the L.S.E. The two organisations had announced their decision to picket the Seminar and to hold a counter-seminar at the L.S.E. after it became apparent that the Seminar was open to invited guests only. During the counter-seminar which was attended by a large number of students, films on the tapols and the situation in East Timor had been shown.

Following the two films, there was to have been a discussion about the situation in Indonesia with speakers from the two organisations, but many of the students in the audience felt that they should not allow their school to be used for a closed meeting with representatives of a regime responsible for widespread abuse of human rights and for the brutal invasion of East Timor. They therefore left the counter-seminar in a body, and entered another L.S.E. building where they found the Seminar participants at a buffet lunch. They expressed their protest and demanded that the Indonesian officials leave the premises. After some heated negotiations between the students and the organisers of the Seminar, the Indonesians left and the second half of the Seminar which was to have taken place in the afternoon was abandoned.

The Indonesian team was headed by Lieut-General Ali Murtopo, Deputy-Head of Indonesia's Intelligence Coordination Agency, BAKIN. It included Major-General Murdani, the man in charge of Indonesia's military invasion of East Timor, and a number of cabinet ministers and senior officials.

The incident was reported in several national newspapers and led to an exchange of opinions in the correspondence columns of the *London Times*. It is the first time that an event in London involving representatives of the Indonesian military regime has been given such wide coverage in the British press.



Norwegian Conservative Youth on Indonesia

The Oslo Unge Høyre, the Oslo youth section of the Norwegian Conservative Party (Høyre) made an appeal, on the occasion of Human Rights Day (10th December), for more attention to the abuse of human rights in Indonesia.

Referring to Indonesia as one of the worst dictatorships in the world, it said that political prisoners in Indonesia were being treated in a way which was common during the Middle Ages as they were being banished to prison islands.

The organisation also made an appeal on the same occasion on behalf of the East German doctor, Walter Schällicke, arrested in June 1974 for distributing leaflets that were critical of the government.

The Norwegian Section of Amnesty International has also been involved in a campaign to draw attention to conditions of political imprisonment in Indonesia.



By courtesy of the Morning Star

BRITISH MPs MISLED ON TAPOLS

A British Parliamentary mission to Indonesia has been publicly quoted as praising Indonesia for the way it handles its political prisoners, and as foreseeing the country's future as "a fortress of democracy in South East Asia". These remarks were made after a 75-minute discussion with Indonesia's President, General Suharto.

The mission consisted of two Conservative and two Labour Members of Parliament. Dr Alan Glyn (Con. Windsor and Maidenhead) also spoke on a BBC news programme after his return to London and actually used the word "splendid" to describe the Indonesian Government's treatment of political prisoners.

Another Conservative MP, Nicholas Winterton (Macclesfield) was quoted in the Indonesian press (*Indonesian Times*, 7th October, 1976) as saying that the British parliamentary mission "endorses the way handling prisoners is done (sic) in Indonesia". Accusing the foreign press of making the error of calling the prisoners 'political prisoners', Mr Winterton said: "They are not political prisoners but people who committed crimes against Indonesia." He failed to indicate whether he had asked the Indonesian President how the government knew they had committed crimes since the vast majority had not been charged or tried for any offence, criminal or otherwise.

The two Labour MPs on the mission were David Young (Bolton, East) and Alex Woodall (Hemsworth).

No-Nationalisation Assurances Given

Other press reports of the mission's visit to Jakarta state that the mission asked for and was given "assurances that there will be no nationalisation of foreign enterprises in Indonesia". The assurance was given by the Indonesia Minister of Trade, Radius Prawiro, during a meeting with the mission (*Angkatan Bersenjata*, 6th October, 1976).

The mission was also reported to have expressed "fears that industrial progress in Indonesia could disrupt the trade relations between the two countries which might affect job opportunities in Britain". They were told by the Trade Minister that industrial progress in Indonesia was directed towards meeting domestic requirements, supporting agriculture and providing more employment. Further industrial growth in Indonesia will lead to larger imports of capital goods from Britain, the mission was told. "You need have no fears about the consequences of industrial advance in Indonesia."

Ex. Minister Dies In Prison

A former Minister and chairman of Indonesia's central bank, Jusuf Muda Dalam died in prison on 26th August. His death is said to have been caused by a tetanus infection from a cut on his thumb three days before he died.

Jusuf Muda Dalam, who was 62 years old, was originally a member of the PKI and represented the party in Parliament from 1950 to 1952. He left the PKI to join the nationalist party, PNI.

An economist by profession, he was appointed director and subsequently chairman of the Bank Indonesia, a position which conferred ministerial status during the last few cabinets of President Sukarno. He was arrested with 12 other ministers on 13th March, 1966. He was tried in 1966, found guilty of involvement in the 30th September incident and sentenced to death. The charges against him related to economic aspects of policy under the Sukarno regime and to the alleged import of weapons from Eastern Europe to arm security forces of the Bank but which were allegedly used by the G30S/PKI movement.

PARTY POLITICS AND CIVIL SERVANTS

No middle-ranking or senior civil servants may join political parties or GOLKAR without the express permission of their superiors, according to a Presidential Regulation No 20, issued on 7th August 1976. (*Angkatan Bersenjata*, 11th August, 1976)

The Regulation applies also to employees of similar rank working for state enterprises and thus covers a majority of the employed labour force in the country.

In the case of lower-ranking employees, they are required to inform their superiors in writing if they wish to join a political party or GOLKAR.

In effect, the regulation only applies to the political parties since all civil servants are required to be members of KORPRI, the Civil Service Functional Corps which is effectively part of GOLKAR. Furthermore, just two weeks prior to the issuance of Presidential Regulation No 20, the Minister for the Interior, Major General Amir Machmud (who is also Chairman of KORPRI) made a very categorical statement warning civil servants not to be "two-faced". "If you want to engage in politics," he said, "you must leave KORPRI" (in other words, resign from the civil service as all civil servants must join KORPRI). "As long as you remain civil servants, you should quite categorically not become members of political parties." (*Kompas*, 22nd July, 1976)

Against the background of such warnings, it is difficult to imagine how any senior civil servant or government employee would dare to apply for permission to join a political party, or how any lower ranking employee would ever be so unwise as to inform his or her superior of any intention to join a party.

Woman Communist Leader on Trial

Mrs Siti Sundari Abdurachman, who was elected a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1963, was brought to trial in October 1976, eight years after her arrest.

Mrs Sundari was able to escape arrest in October 1965 and left Jakarta for Lampung, South Sumatra where she took over the leadership of an underground organisation that operated in the region for several years. Although herself frail and frequently in poor health, she was able to build up an effective movement of political propaganda and education. With great agility, she continued to organise, at times right under the nose of the military. When she was finally arrested, following a betrayal, her captors were astounded to realise that a middle-aged woman, small in build, had been the leader of a network they had been trying to uncover for years. Her arrest was a major "scoop" for the local military commander who used the occasion to display his captive to the local press.

We have received only two press reports of her trial which was held before a court in Tanjungkarang, South Sumatra. The only detail given is that the prosecution demanded a life sentence. We have received no report of the final verdict.

S. Moluccan Separatists Sentenced

Twelve leaders of the S. Moluccan separatist movement were recently tried before courts in Ambon, the capital of the province of Maluku. Ten were found guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment of two and a half years to ten years and three months. Two were acquitted but were nevertheless ordered by the judge to remain in detention pending an appeal against the acquittal by the prosecution, which had demanded a ten-year sentence.

The names of the twelve men were published in a press release by the Pattimura Movement, an organisation of S. Moluccan youth in the Netherlands.

The case of one of the acquitted men still being held in detention was raised in the letter columns of the Jakarta weekly, *Tempo* on 12th June. The letter, written by Drs Norimarna, the son of Jacob Stephanus Norimarna (68 years old) who was acquitted, complained that the decision to continue holding his father in prison was in contravention of article 19 of the Basic Law on the Judiciary, Law No 14, 1970. Drs Norimarna also complained that he had not been permitted to attend his father's trial even though the trial was said to be public.

According to the Pattimura Movement press release, the military authorities have plans to transfer the twelve imprisoned men to prisons or camps in Java. Initially, the plan was prevented when people in the locality got wind of it, but attempts have since been made to carry out the transfer in secret, among other things by suspending family visits.

To Readers and Subscribers

We apologise for the much delayed appearance of this issue, caused mainly by production problems over the Christmas and New Year holidays. No. 19 has been updated to January 1977. Our next issue will be dated February 1977.

RECOMMENDED READING

SUDISMAN, *Analysis of Responsibility* The Defence Speech of Sudisman, General Secretary of the Indonesian Communist Party at his trial before the Special Military Tribunal, Jakarta, 21st July, 1967. Translated by Ben Anderson. Published by The Works Co-operative Ltd, 118 Errol Street, North Melbourne, Victoria 3051, Australia (October, 1975). Price: \$2.00 Australian.

Sudisman's *Analysis of Responsibility*, his final address at the 1967 trial in which he was sentenced to death, is a major statement by the last of the main leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party of the 1950-1965 period. It is important for what it says about the past, for its analysis of why the strategies of this group of leaders ended in the terrible debacle of 1965 when the Indonesian Army was able to decimate the Party and massacre many hundreds of thousands of its members and supporters. This speech was only briefly reported in the Indonesian press and elsewhere. This is its first English language publication.

Sudisman was one of a group of young Communists, Aidit, Lukman, and Njoto among them, who took over the leadership of the PKI in 1950-1951 and turned a small, defeated and demoralised Party into a large and dynamic force for the reconstruction of Indonesian society.

Of the five leading figures of the PKI's Politburo, Sudisman was the only one to be put on trial by the Suharto military government. The other four were shot in the months after the counter-revolution. Sudisman was able to evade arrest longer than the other leaders, but he was betrayed and captured in December 1966.

He prepared a speech in his cell only after overcoming his reluctance to talk to his interrogators and to the court. He refused to plead for his life, saying that he would follow his colleagues to death by another route. He chose to use his trial to speak to the world, and especially to the scattered survivors of the Party he had helped to build. He saw it as an opportunity to present a reconsideration of the strategies which he and the other members of the Aidit leadership had pursued and to set forth the lessons to be learned from the calamitous defeat to which these strategies contributed.

This publication expresses the strength and steadfastness of Sudisman's personality, as well as demonstrating the clarity of his analysis and the subtlety with which he fused Marxist-Leninist theory and the best traditions of Javanese thought. It represents the ideas of a person whose last political act was to analyse that terrible defeat. His analysis is both moving and profound.

(From the introduction)

Geographische Rundschau, Georg Westermann Verlag, 3300 Braunschweig, Georg-Westermann-Allee 66, W. Germany

Volume 27, No. 4, April 1975 of this journal is a special issue devoted to Indonesia. The articles are written in German by prominent German experts on Indonesian affairs. The article by Werner Röhl on the dynamics of the population development in Indonesia can be especially recommended.

Volume 27, No. 6, June 1975, pp. 244-250 contains an article by J.K. Metzner: Mensch und Umwelt im östlichen Timor. Metzner has written a Ph.D. thesis on a study of East Timor. He carried out research there in 1969-1971.

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continued from page 3

Alas, after a month of phone calls, telegrams and Congressional inquiries, the State Department denied the visa, thereby denying many Americans the opportunity to hear Carmel Budiardjo. CALC and TAPOL, at the encouragement of all of the communities involved in her tour and several members of Congress, will continue to press for the visa.

Carmel Budiardjo is not the only person that the State Department has restricted the American people from hearing. The Venerable Mandela, a Vietnamese Buddhist nun, was refused entry this fall because she has a passport from Vietnam which our government does not recognize. Two Chilean trade unionists in exile were denied visas a few months ago, one because he was a member of the Chilean Communist Party, the other because he is a representative of a trade union which the State Department claims is Communist. Next year, a group of Vietnamese religious leaders may be visiting the U.S. at the invitation of American religious leaders. Will the American people be restricted from hearing them, too?

When organizers were told that the visa had not been granted they were disappointed — and angry. As Fran Weisberg, an organizer for the Rochester Peace and Justice Education Center, remarked in an interview with a local paper, we must "show the State Department this is not just a case of one woman coming over to give talks; it's a lot of people." She concluded by emphasizing that the denial of Carmel Budiardjo's visa indicates three things to her: "How necessary we are. How right she is. And how paranoid they (the State Department and the Indonesian government) are."

Notes to Readers

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The new annual rates (six issues) are:

UK and Europe	£2.50 (5.50 US dollars)
Overseas	£3.00 (6.75 US dollars)

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